1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu"suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] **The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.**

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] **One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."**

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

[P.372, A]

824 795 778

ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT

(2562-2564)

754 756 778 [172]

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172]

Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

> "One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731]

Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754

Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[P.372, B]

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

724 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [344] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [177] house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P. 395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

[847] [848]

842 However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the 789 afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

[178]

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent 754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

[845] [843]

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

[263] [856]

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[262] [302] [178]

222 Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally
527 clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon
[178] and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies
[791] are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to
222 have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic
527 cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations
791 to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each
622 other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was
222 filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during
527 this period as a shattered remnant of a former society
114 eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white set-
178 tlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies
[211] concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide
[721] string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come
622 to their aid.
222 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings
527 at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words
791 of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be
222 held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most
754 frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It
[756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

[P 383, B]

222 ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

527 Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances
●[754] have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 After a number of years without a dance, the custom
527 was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The
178 dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played
[535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particu-
[177] larly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days.
[801] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 The following incident illustrates the attitude most
824 conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de-
[782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she
222 had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.
789 There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and
[182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

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and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin.

The yellow (waltsataini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

342
[181]

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is teshmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

Every few months "runs" are made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

The

funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegelé́yu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegelé́yus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegelé́yu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears.

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegelé́yu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams.

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegelé́yu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing.

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Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukŭshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegelé'yu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans.

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
888 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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988 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegeléyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the
[593] husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister. The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The
[461] parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn [178] down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
754 witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give [778] food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use in 224
deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According 778
to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the
first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a med- [783]
icine called mugâlu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete
says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before col-
lecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The
hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail
the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in 756
his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared 224
as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral [787]
of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe [417]
and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part
of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close [824]
the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power 778
and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number 775
of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they 182
give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the [152]
fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which
the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups,
the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the corre-
lation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A 888
statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one 592
factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household
composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the 778
fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would 754
live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement
today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old 152
people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of
the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor
in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly 152
less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon 178
which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617).
However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1]

by Philip E. Leis

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The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

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Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

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These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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114 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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[178] The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this difference in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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154 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening variable between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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[683] The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

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[152] applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

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668 Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of
[154] natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of ag-
[75] gression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness.
754 But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor
776 would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there
191 was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

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"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[2] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tášaʔ ʔí·s) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[2] from Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

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[431] [605] [852] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

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302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dîbek).

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854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.[5]

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk.
[757] The hood or sunshade (ma?yó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
[531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
[754] One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

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847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2566. Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2568. Killed for declining	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijume-nimma)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2577. Offerings to "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2578. To ghost (tsaavu)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 414]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[11] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes ... and rare is the man who

[11] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[46] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[47] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[46] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[47] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[48] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time."

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

" Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

" Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

" Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

" La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.